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INTERNATIONAL

UNITING 'DEMOCRATIC' THIRD WORLD FORCES ON ANTI-IMPERIALIST BASIS

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 81 (signed to press 23 Jan 81)
pp 11-14

[Article by A. Iskenderov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences:
"Militant Alliance of Anti-Imperialist Forces"]

[Text] An important characteristic of the world-wide revolutionary process in our days is the emergence into the political arena of the young independent states which were born in the crucible of the national-liberation struggle, as well as their active and ever-increasing role in solving the complex problems of modern times. The 1970's were marked by profound qualitative shifts in the national-liberation movement, which has now become an influential political force and comprises an inalienable part of the world-wide revolutionary process.

The importance of the national-liberation movement today is determined not only by the fact that it encompasses an enormous area of the world, where more than 50 percent of the world's population lives, but primarily by the fact that within the countries which have freed themselves from colonial dependence profound revolutionary shifts are taking place. They testify to the social renovation of the entire old way of life, the emergence and development of new relations constructed on the basis of the complete elimination of exploitation and oppression on the part of imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism.

An outstanding achievement of all the anti-imperialist forces was the abolition of the shameful system of colonialism in its classic forms. A new life is now being established in the developing countries. Many of them are successfully carrying out progressive socioeconomic changes, which have been called upon to defend and reinforce the national independence, as well as to eliminate economic and social backwardness.

Of course, this process has taken place neither easily nor simply; there are still quite a few difficulties and obstacles on its path, and these must be persistently overcome and cleared away. However, the principal thrust in the development of modern-day social revolutions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America has become increasingly clear: despite the differences caused by historical, national, political, and cultural characteristics and traditions of the individual states, as well as inequalities in the scope, forms, methods, nature of the requirements, and level of leadership in this struggle, the revolutionary process in this area on the whole is becoming more and more profoundly anti-imperialist, and in a number

of cases even anti-capitalist. Moreover, the social thrust of the movement, in particular, a socialistic orientation as its clearest manifestation, is determining the principal traits and chief characteristics of contemporary national-liberation revolutions.

Imperialist propaganda has attempted to portray the revolutionary events in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the form of an "arc of crises" (in Z. Brzezinski's expression), as a violation of political and social stability which leads, they say, to an undermining of international detente. These and similar opinions have the purpose of dulling the social sharpness of the national-liberation revolutions and of retaining the liberated states within the sphere of imperialist influence, as well as binding them to the bourgeois path of development. It is not by accident that certain American authors have mentioned that the United States is, so to speak, the "preferred model of social progress for the liberated states."¹

In recent times within the zone of the national-liberation movement two opposing trends have clashed more and more sharply. We are witnesses to a precipitous upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America: suffice it to mention the revolutions in Ethiopia, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua, the anti-imperialist demonstrations of the broad popular masses in Iran, in the south of Africa, in El Salvador, etc. The peoples are taking the destinies of their own countries more and more decisively into their own hands; their struggle for progressive socioeconomic changes is taking on an increasingly profound and consistent nature, and they are defending more and more successfully their own vital interests and national rights, as well as achieving a strengthening of their economic and state independence.

Nevertheless, the more significant the results achieved by the liberated peoples on the paths of national and social progress, and the more profound the socioeconomic changes, the cruder and stronger are the pressures and forces brought to bear by the forces of world imperialism and domestic reactionaries, and the more malicious and deceitful are their plots and intrigues against the progressive regimes and political organizations, especially those which have rejected capitalism and proclaimed the building of a socialist society as their goal.

The imperialists have attempted to cover up and justify their own aggressive strategy in this zone by all manner of political and ideological doctrines, the essence of which boils down to portraying this region as a sphere of "vital interests" for the imperialist powers, where, so to speak, the line of their "national security" passes through. As the Indian newspaper NATIONAL HERALD has written, Washington traditionally considers all the "non-socialist part" of the world to be the sphere of its own influence, and it perceives any radicalization in the developing world as a threat to its own security. It is just such a position, the NATIONAL HERALD emphasizes, which threatens the process of detente. And if we speak about the recent acute exacerbation of the international situation, then the principal and, in essence, the only reason for this is concealed not within the social revolutions which are unfolding and inevitably will unfold in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, but within the increased aggressiveness of imperialism.

It is obvious that we can speak today if not about a completely new strategy of imperialism in the zone of the national-liberation movement, then, in any case, of its new elements and manifestations. This is a matter, in particular, of coordinated and direct military intervention by one country or a group of countries --the members of the NATO aggressive bloc--in the internal affairs of the peoples and states of this region. The increase here of enormous military might, the creation of "rapid deployment forces," open armed intervention, which took place, for example, in Iran--all this is supposed to change by military means the development of events in this region of the world which are disadvantageous to the imperialists, as well as to disrupt the ratio of political forces which has taken form to their detriment.

Occurring under no less complex conditions are the processes of internal political development in the countries which have won their national independence. Here, far from simple shifts are taking place in the disposition and ratio of sociopolitical forces; a complex process of class demarcation is occurring. Difficulties have been caused by the sharp, often unexpected, changes in circumstances, serious economic problems, the tenacious vitality of archaic structures in the sphere of social and spiritual life, by extreme manifestations of tribalism, religious fanaticism, and bourgeois nationalism. This is also reflected in the internal political development of the young national states and in the choice of paths for their subsequent development.

The working class and other strata of laborers have striven to bring the national-democratic revolution to its conclusion and to deepen its social contents. However, such a development of events is opposed by the right-wing conservative tendency, which expresses the interests of the reactionary forces attempting to hold back the forward-moving course of the revolutionary process and to hinder the further development of the national-democratic revolution. These forces are often joined by those who in the initial stage had supported the liberation struggle of their own people and had even participated in it but who later moved further and further away from the revolutionary movement and took pro-imperialist positions, attaching themselves essentially to the camp of counter-revolution and internal reaction.

A fierce struggle is being waged between the above-mentioned tendencies; it has assumed various forms depending on the specific conditions of this or that country, the ratio of social and class forces, and the degree of the political organization of the masses. The result of this struggle depends, to a large extent, also on what kind of forces are opposing each other and how successful has been the influence on this development of the so-called intermediate tendency; this latter also exists and acts, reflecting the attitudes of quite large and mixed strata of society, including those elements which, on the whole, adhere to a progressive orientation. However, by virtue of the intermediate position which these strata occupy in the social structure itself, their political positions are extremely indefinite and diffuse, containing an enormous range of variations--from extremely reactionary views to left-wing extremism.

Recently in a number of countries a process has been noted of a well-marked strengthening of the former tendency, representing quite a broad coalition of revolutionary and democratic forces united by the desire to continue the struggle

for a strengthening of the national independence and the development of their own countries along the path of social progress. They are united not only by anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism but, to an ever-increasing extent, by anti-capitalism as well. Not only the communists but also other groups of the revolutionary-democratic forces have come to realize more and more clearly that capitalism as a social system has no future not only in the industrially developed capitalist states but also in the developing countries. It is extremely characteristic that even those political leaders who are inclined to take the capitalist path of development have decided not to mention this, at least not in public, but feel compelled to declare their adherence to socialism.

The victory of the progressive trend of social development in the liberated countries and, consequently, the successful unfolding of the national-democratic revolution depend, to an enormous degree, on the unity and solidarity of all the forces of national and social liberation.

Under present-day conditions, when in the national-democratic revolutions an increasingly larger place is occupied by the problems of the social and economic development of the liberated countries, the problem of the unity of the revolutionary and democratic forces within the framework of the national-patriotic front assumes a new quality. This is essentially a matter of an alliance between the following three classes: the young but growing national proletariat, the broad peasant masses, and the petite bourgeoisie, which plays an important positive role in the political life of these countries.

The working class, despite its relative youth and low numbers, has strengthened its own position considerably during the last few years; it has proclaimed itself to be the most organized, authoritative, and consistent force actively defending the gains of the national-liberation revolutions and advocating the building of a new society which does not know the exploitation of man by man.

The circumstance that the national-liberation revolutions are being carried out in agrarian countries predetermines the top-priority importance of the agrarian-peasant question and the special role of the peasantry in them. The development of the national-liberation movement and its scope depend, to a great extent, on the viewpoints of the peasants and on what social-class and political forces they support. In fact, not a single political movement in the developing countries can have any success if it does not rely on an alliance with the peasantry and does not have the capacity to propose a democratic solution of the agrarian-peasant question, which affects the overwhelming majority of the population. The experience of the revolutionary movement in the zone of national liberation has demonstrated that the most reliable way of drawing the peasantry into the struggle against imperialism and for the elimination of feudal landownership, as well as for genuine social progress, is an alliance with the working class.

The peasant movement finds enormous force when and where it is inextricably tied in with the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Nobody except the working class will be able to save the peasantry from the landowners' intrigues and capitalist exploitation, or will be capable, in V. I. Lenin's words, "to give the peasantry everything in the realm of land reforms, everything which the peasants want, about which they dream, and what they actually need."² Only in alliance with the working class and under its political leadership can the enormous revolutionary

energy contained within the peasant movement be truly utilized.

At the present-day stage of the liberation struggle an alliance between the working class and the peasantry has taken on not only an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal but also an increasingly anti-capitalist thrust. On its firmness depends, in great measure, the successful implementation of the non-capitalist tendencies which were inaugurated during the modern national-democratic revolutions, and hence also the success of the struggle for national liberation and social progress.

Very important for strengthening the unity of the revolutionary and democratic forces is the establishment of correct relations with the petite bourgeoisie, which, by virtue of objective conditions occupies an anti-imperialist position and on many questions acts as a reliable ally of the toiling masses. Utilizing the revolutionary potential of the petite bourgeoisie, which is capable of becoming, as the classics of Marxism-Leninism have noted, a "component part of all future social revolutions,"³ constitutes one of the most important tasks for the revolutionary-democratic forces.

An alliance of all the progressive national forces facilitates the development of the struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism, and racism, creates a solid base for the participation of the broad popular masses in the process of creating a new society, and serves as a reliable guarantee of the correct implementation of economic and social policy. A multifaceted consideration of the revolutionary experience and the interests of the democratic forces allows people in solving complex problems, especially those of an economic nature, to avoid haste, an artificial forcing of events, a skipping over of the intermediate stages of development, and the ignoring of political compromises.

* * *

The grandiose problems connected with breaking up the old, colonial structure and creating a new society may be solved successfully in close cooperation with the countries of the socialist system and with all the revolutionary and democratic movements of the present time.

The importance of such cooperation was underlined by the participants in the international scholarly conference on the topic "The Joint Struggle of the Labor Movement and the National-Liberation Movement against Imperialism and for Social Progress" (Berlin, October 1980). In his report at this conference B. N. Ponomarev, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, outlined the principal trends of the cooperation of the developing countries with the states of the socialist community, with the international labor movement, and with other progressive forces. He declared as follows: "These are primarily joint actions in favor of strengthening the peoples' peace and security, for cutting short imperialist aggression, against the attempts of neo-colonialism to 'replay history,' i. e., to ensure for themselves again the opportunity to exploit the liberated countries without hindrance." Comrade B. N. Ponomarev indicated the direct connection between disarmament and the solution by the liberated countries of the socioeconomic problems confronting them. The imperialists of the United States, Britain, and other countries have pumped billions out of the former colonies, utilizing this money for the arms race, which is aimed at the peace-loving peoples. According to the data which we have, during the past

20 years the proportion of the world expenditures on armaments of the developing countries also increased--from 4 to 15 percent. If in 1970 their direct military outlays amounted to about 40 billion dollars, by 1979 they had reached 90 billion; moreover, those countries which proved to be members of the imperialist military-political blocs became the first objects of militarization.

Naturally, the growth of international tension connected with this course compelled even the peace-loving states to be concerned about the needs of their own defenses. As a result, gigantic sums are being spent, money which is so necessary for eliminating backwardness, hunger, and poverty. B. N. Ponomarev emphasized that the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community have long and persistently proposed a halt to the arms race and a reduction in military budgets, having set aside a portion of the funds thus freed up for increasing aid to the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The USSR's course of lessening international tension and of disarmament fully corresponds to the tasks of developing the young national states. It is precisely for this reason that the positions of the socialist and the liberated countries are so close on questions of disarmament.

In order to ensure peace and social progress, it is necessary to have joint actions and mutual understanding between the forces of world socialism, the labor movement in the capitalist countries, and the national-liberation forces. The combination of their efforts is called upon to play an outstanding role in ensuring the peoples' security and the transformation of the world on the principles of equal rights, liberty, democracy, and justice.

The success of the struggle to implement these high ideals depends, to a large extent, on the unfolding of the entire worldwide revolutionary process, an important component of which is the peoples' movement for national liberation and social progress. It is a matter of seeing to it that the actions jointly oppose the imperialist dictates, especially in the financial-economic sphere, where the monopolistic bourgeoisie continue to maintain quite strong positions and with the aid of such points attempt to compel the young national states to turn aside from the progressive path of development.

This should be emphasized also because, despite the crushing political defeat which imperialism suffered in the zone of the national-liberation movement, it remains a serious and dangerous foe of the developing countries, as well as the chief source of tension and sharply conflicting situations in this region of the world. The system of economic relations between the industrially developed capitalist countries and the young states has not changed very much, and it allows the former to exploit the latter on a broad scale. Representing a particular danger in this connection are the so-called trans-national corporations, which hang like a heavy weight on the unreinforced economy of the developing countries. This is why the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are actively struggling to restructure the system of international economic relations on the principles of equitable co-operation.

Cementing the foundation of the strengthened alliance of anti-imperialist forces is the world system of socialism, which has now come forward as a reliable guarantor of the peoples who have entered upon the path of independent development, as well as a very important factor in protecting their national sovereignty and their social and economic progress.

Every new victory of socialism in the economic competition with capitalism signifies a further change in the ratio of forces in the world arena, and it increases the possibilities for the successful unfolding of the worldwide revolutionary process. The entire system of measures and solutions being carried out by the socialist countries in the interests of the workers is indeed leading, as V. I. Lenin wrote, "toward peace, not to speak of the complete elimination of the dangers of war,"⁴ to the growth of the revolutionizing influence of victorious socialism on the entire worldwide liberation process which is occurring under the conditions of the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

The first victorious socialist revolution in history not only pulled Russia out of the flames of an imperialist war and thereby speeded up its conclusion but also became a serious obstacle for the imperialist policy of oppressing and exploiting peoples, wars of plunder, force and aggression. The socialist state opposed such a policy with a policy of peace, security, and the friendship of peoples, of protecting their liberty and independence, a policy proceeding directly from the very essence of the new social system.

Revolutions in and by themselves do not threaten peace and cannot serve as a reason for international tension, and certainly not for wars between states. Social revolutions and universal peace are indivisible, as socialism and peace are indivisible.

If over the course of more than a third of a century now mankind has lived under the conditions of peace, if detente has become a reality and the foremost tendency of international life, and the principles of peaceful coexistence have been acknowledged more and more widely as the norm for relations between states with differing social systems, then this to a decisive degree is the result of the fact that the process of the revolutionary renovation of the world has taken on a global nature in our times, while the influence of the countries of the socialist community on the course of world events is becoming more and more powerful and profound. The unfolding of the revolutionary movements has created conditions which make it considerably harder for the imperialists to find opportunities to rattle their sabers with impunity, to conduct a policy of aggression, or to encroach upon the peoples' independence and interests.

Between the countries of socialism and the developing states relations of friendship and multi-faceted cooperation have taken shape and are being carried out successfully; such measures encompass various spheres of sociopolitical, economic, scientific, and cultural life. Of essential importance in these relations is the fact that they are being built on an objective, anti-imperialist foundation.

The developing countries, particularly those which are adhering to a course of socialist orientation, have manifested an enormous interest in the historical experience of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. And this is understandable, for much of what the socialist countries had to decide in the realm of state structure, economic relations, the nationality question, building culture, the training of national staffs, etc., is directly related to those problems which the developing countries are now encountering. Of course, this is not a matter of blind copying of such experience or a mechanical transfer onto the national soil of the liberated states of the devices and methods which

have been adopted and are being adopted in the socialist countries. It is a matter of the creative development of the experience in building socialism, taking into consideration the actual conditions of the given country and its social specifics.

Of great importance, especially for the revolutionary parties which are called upon to exercise the leadership role in the process of building the new society, is the question--taking into consideration the experience of the socialist revolutions--of the ways and forms of making the transition to socialism. As V. I. Lenin stressed, "the transition from capitalism to socialism is conceivable in various forms, depending on whether we already have major capitalist relations, or whether small-scale industry economy is predominant within it."⁵

Undoubtedly, the countries with a socialist orientation will introduce quite a few unique characteristics into the process of making the transition to socialism. Each of these countries is seeking its own methods of solving the large problems confronting it, and these solutions should correspond to the objective conditions and the existing possibilities. Nevertheless, the manifestation and grounding of national characteristics and specific forms, methods, and devices for carrying out socioeconomic and political changes not only do not exclude but even assume a multi-faceted consideration of the general principles of the socialist development of society.

* * *

Our era is an age of radical social changes. Within the citadels of capitalism the class struggle is growing apace, and the crisis of imperialism as a social system is deepening. The national-liberation movement is gaining ever-newer victories. The anti-imperialist struggle is becoming more widespread. The world system of socialism is growing and becoming stronger. All this signifies a widespread unfolding of the universal revolutionary process.

In this ongoing movement of revolutionary and democratic forces of the present time there is a strengthening of the mighty front of unity and solidarity among the countries of the socialist community, the international working class and the national-liberation movement--a front which is actively opposed to the forces of imperialism, reaction, and war, and which is creating favorable conditions for the triumph of the cause of peace, liberty, national independence, and the social progress of the peoples.

FOOTNOTES

1. P. Morris, "The Emerging Nations and the American Revolution," New York, 1970, p x.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 11, p 88.
3. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 27, p 412.
4. V. I. Lenin, Op cit, vol 45, p 241.

5. V. I. Lenin, Op cit, vol 43, p 78.

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INTERNATIONAL

PRIMAKOV ON PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 12, Dec 80 pp 28-47

[Article by Academician Ye. Primakov: "The Law of Uneven Development and the Historical Fate of Liberated Countries"]

[Excerpts] The period of more than 60 years which has passed since the Great October Revolution inaugurated the age of revolutionary transformation of the world has confirmed that the ratio of forces on our planet has been steadily changing in favor of socialism. This has brought about very profound qualitative changes which have had, and are continuing to have, a decisive influence on the fate of the liberated countries, as follows:

The imperialist colonial system was abolished;

Imperialism revealed its inability to achieve its objectives by means of frontal attacks mounted against the young national states;

The helplessness of the old mechanism by which the imperialist countries exploited the colonial and dependent countries for a long time and the liberated countries for decades became obvious; furthermore, a crisis developed in the neocolonial method of economic exploitation;

The principles of peaceful coexistence in relations among countries with different social systems is being asserted in the course of a tense struggle. This contributes to, rather than hinders, the success of the struggle for national and social liberation;

International relations have become "generalized:" instead of a privilege enjoyed by a small number of imperialist countries, world politics has become the affair of the entire human community.

The changed ratio of forces on a global scale is being correspondingly reflected in the entire process of the development of the liberated countries. A number of indicators enable us to describe these countries as a historical community: their one-sided dependence or asymmetric interrelationship with the developed capitalist countries; a mixed economy; relatively low levels and corresponding types of development of production forces; an antagonistic incompatibility between their national interests and the interests and policies of the imperialist countries.

At the same time, their differentiation in all areas--economic, political, socio-class and ideological--is intensifying. Unquestionably, this is one of the main features of the liberated countries today. It is clear that no reasonably complete understanding of what is happening in present-day Asia, Africa and Latin America could be achieved without a study of the reasons for this differentiation and its direction and results.

In the past our scientific publications have somewhat underestimated the processes of differentiation among young national states, differentiation consistent with the laws of the uneven development of capitalism discovered and substantiated by V. I. Lenin. In the 1940s and at the beginning of the 1950s, some historians considered the historical turn in the destinies of the liberated countries which had not taken the path of socialist development simplistically, and solely from the viewpoint of the change in the form of their participation in the global capitalist system. The independence of these countries was frequently regarded as only formal and most young countries were classified as proimperialist.

Later on, after this one-sidedness had been surmounted, the opposite concepts began to predominate in scientific studies, particularly those at the end of the 1950s and in the 1960s: the same type of one-sided "classification" of all developing countries as belonging to the camp of the anti-imperialist forces. Reality, however, turned out to be far more complex, as expressed in the processes of differentiation among the liberated countries, in which the changes in the socio-economic area are of the greatest significance.

The insufficient attention which scientists formerly paid to this problem can be explained to a certain extent by the fact that the differentiation processes in the world of the liberated countries did not develop immediately. Practically speaking, these processes did not begin to develop particularly tangibly and rapidly, for reasons to be discussed later, until the 1970s. Meanwhile, however, the insufficient attention was also due in our view to an underestimation of the influence which the laws governing the global capitalist economy had on the liberated countries, particularly the law of uneven development under capitalism, which was largely the reason for the heterogeneous and zigzag nature of their development.

I

Let us begin by considering the dynamic correlation between the capitalist center and its periphery. Following the breakdown of the colonial system, particularly in the 1970s, the growth rate of the gross internal product of the group of developing countries increased at a faster pace. The trend changed: the contribution of these countries to the overall gross internal product of the capitalist world, which had declined in the first half of the 20th century, began to increase.

We know that the economic gap between the developed capitalist and the developing countries is determined not by indicators of the overall volume of their gross internal product, but by their gross internal product ratios or their national income on a per capita basis. However, despite the increased economic dynamism of

the liberated countries, the average level of the per capita gross internal product lagged behind considerably. According to the foreseeable rates of economic and population growth, this lag will not show a drastic improvement in the future. It is based on the relatively low rates of increased labor productivity compared with relatively high rates of population increase.

Nor did the breakdown of the colonial system automatically eliminate the gap between the capitalist center and the periphery on the income level: from 1950 to 1980 the gap remained virtually unchanged, fluctuating between 11:1 and 13:1.

Something else is noteworthy: the gap between the two groups of countries in terms of absolute per capita income has become tremendous. This indicator is rising against the background of a per capita income ratio which is showing a tendency to stabilize. Thus, between 1950 and 1980, the disparity between the two groups of countries in average per capita income increased by a 2.4 factor.

The gap in the standards between the capitalist center and the periphery as a whole will be retained for the foreseeable future.

However, recognition of this situation alone is obviously insufficient if we are to understand the economic trends which are developing in the former colonial and dependent world. The fact is that, along with the gap remaining between the capitalist center and the periphery, uneven development under capitalism clearly reveals a number of liberated countries which are outstripping the group as a whole in terms of the growth of their national income and capital investments and, in many cases, labor productivity. This applies, above all, to the petroleum-producing countries and countries with a relatively well-developed sector for the export of processed goods. On a parallel basis, conversely, we can single out a group of the least developed countries noted for exceptionally low per capita income, a minimum literacy level and very weak industrial sectors.

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The increased disparity in the economic development of the liberated countries is based on the effect of internal factors. This unevenness is also closely linked with external factors, two main ones in particular: first, the structural crisis within capitalism, which in the 1970s spread over entire sectors and areas in the global capitalist economy, such as raw materials, energy, finance and ecology; and secondly, the characteristics of capital exports by the imperialist countries.

The exceptionally rapid and spasmodic increase in the national income of individual capitalist countries, the petroleum-producing countries above all; the accelerated industrial development of a number of young states; the accumulation and, given the impossibility of internal use (because of the inadequate capacity of the domestic market), the "overaccumulation" of capital and its export to other developing countries or to developed countries; and structural changes in the economy, caused by the transfer to liberated countries of ecologically "dirty" and labor, energy and material intensive industrial activities.

In the 1970s, the uneven development of the former colonial and dependent countries triggered the phenomenon of large-scale capital exports from individual developing countries to developed capitalist states.

This phenomenon also reflects the general conditions and processes occurring in the capitalist economy, such as:

The special circumstances—energy and raw material crises—which contributed to the sharp growth of income in a number of developing countries;

The impossibility of using all earned income domestically, thus transforming it into a relative "surplus;"

The interest shown by the developed capitalist countries in recycling such income within their own economy;

The parasitical nature of the landowning-bourgeois circles in power in some capital-exporting liberated countries; such circles prefer to use the structures already existing in the developed capitalist countries and to make profitable capital investments in foreign economies, rather than create the infrastructure required for the development of their own countries.

As a result of all of this, capital exports from some developing countries are having a double impact: on the one hand, they are becoming a source of fast-growing income for only few liberated countries, thus developing the imperialist elements within their policies; and on the other hand, they are becoming one of the means used by the imperialist circles to tie an important segment of the developing world to the basic economic centers of contemporary capitalism.

This does not apply to economic means alone. The decision made by U. S. President J. Carter in 1969 to freeze Iranian assets deposited in American banks, both in the United States and abroad, is clear proof of the way capital imports from developing countries can become a political pressure tool. In "daily" life as well, quite apart from extraordinary situations, capital exports by a developing country make it much more fully integrated within the global capitalist economy and more vulnerable from the viewpoint of its laws.

The aggravation of the structural crises within capitalism not only contributes to the development of conditions for the flow of capital in "nontraditional" directions—from some parts of the periphery to the center of the global capitalist economy—but also intensifies the "main" flow of capital from imperialist to developing countries.

The activities of multinational corporations, which control more than 90 percent of all private investments abroad within the global capitalist economy, tremendously influenced the nature of capital exports in the 1960s and more particularly in the 1970s. Despite the fact that the developed capitalist countries are the main area of operations for the international monopolies, the scale of the operations of such monopolies in the young countries is increasing steadily in absolute terms.

A number of the characteristics of capital exports to developing countries related to multinational corporation activities became apparent at the end of the 1960s and in the 1970s. One of them was the overall increase in the share of private capital investments. The United States is one of the leaders among capital-exporting countries in capital investments made abroad. This confirms the leading role played by the multinational monopolies in this area.

Another feature of capital exports to developing countries is the rapid increase in the proportion of investments in processing industry enterprises.

Finally, some of the other distinguishing features of capital exports to developing countries directly related to multinational corporation activities are the changed forms of capital investments and the sudden growth of investment portfolios. The dynamics here shows that the foreign monopolies are assigning ever greater importance to indirect methods of controlling industrial and other projects in the developing countries—stock purchases, creation of mixed companies, establishment of international consortiums with the participation of local capital and so on.

The activities of the multinational corporations in the developing countries follow several directions. The oldest of these corporations are foreign monopolies which supply the industrial centers of the capitalist world with raw materials, fuel and agricultural commodities. In the second half of the 1970s the multinational corporations supplying raw materials undertook the processing of raw products locally, close to their sources. The building of such energy and material intensive and "polluting" enterprises, whose products, as in the past, are destined for the markets of the developing capitalist countries, gives the multinational corporations considerable other advantages as well because it involves less expenditure for environmental protection.

Yet another direction in the activities of multinational corporations emerged after some countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America gained their political independence: the creation of import-substituting production facilities.

In the 1970s a new direction developed in the activities of multinational corporations in the developing countries based on international intrasectorial production specialization. What matters in the case of such foreign monopoly branches, which have been essentially converted into shops, is not the scale of the local market (the capacity of the domestic marketplace of a developing country is of prime importance in the activities of import-substituting enterprises), but rather the low local wages.

The activities of the international monopolies in the developing countries enable them to earn tremendous profits by plundering the natural resources and mercilessly exploiting the manpower of the liberated countries. Multinational corporation practices preserve and increase the scientific and technical dependence of such countries on the developed capitalist states, as well as their vulnerability to economic decline, inflation and monetary difficulties in the global capitalist

economy. Such practices also contribute to the growth of output in some liberated countries, which is naturally uneven and one-sided, but clearly intensifies the economic differentiation among them.

The uneven development of former colonial and dependent countries also reveals a trend toward further intensification, because the multinational corporations choose the liberated countries which have already advanced in their development as the area for their activities. Consequently countries which are already more developed have, or will have in the immediate future, considerably better opportunities for the further growth of production forces from the viewpoint of external financing sources, as compared with the other countries in the developing world. Here we must bear in mind that internal sources of accumulation are considerably greater in the higher groups, as opposed to the countries whose per capita gross internal product is the lowest.

The differentiation processes among the developing countries are even sharper when considered on the level of individual countries rather than on the group level. Each group has its "leaders" which are developing not only considerably more rapidly than the sum total of developing countries but within their own groups as well. At the same time, the group of least developed liberated countries lags even farther behind.

The effect of the law of uneven development has provided some former colonies and semicolonies with a basic opportunity for achieving per capita gross domestic product consumption matching the level of individual countries within the capitalist center.

In the 1970s, other developing countries--those producing petroleum or countries with a developed processing industry export sector, such as Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Singapore and Turkey, which began in 1950 with a level of per capita gross internal output consumption lower or approximately similar to those countries in the groups of developed capitalist states--either equaled or outstripped these latter countries. Let us note that it was only in the case of the petroleum-producing countries that this was primarily related to the multiple increases in petroleum prices, while in the case of the others, it was essentially a reflection of the real growth in their production forces.

We believe that a number of countries--in Latin America, with a high per capita income, and in Asia, with a developed processing industry export sector--may already be classified as countries with medium level capitalist development.*

However, it would be useful to reemphasize that concluding that today some former colonial or dependent countries can be classified as capitalist countries with average development does not at all mean that they have become full members of the "club" of developed capitalist states. The foreign element either predominates in their economic structure or, at the very least, has a great impact on their

* Here the author shares the views expressed by V. Sheynis in his article in ME i MD, No 9, 1977.

development. They are exploited by foreign monopoly capital and their economic freedom is restricted.

Obviously, it should also be noted that the new "generation" of medium-developed capitalist countries in the second half of the 20th century has, as a rule, greater economic dynamism than the first generation, and that the law of uneven development affects it to a greater extent than it did the first "generation."

III

V. I. Lenin, who determined the dialectical interconnection between uneven economic and political development in brilliant fashion, derived two conclusions of universal-historical significance concerning the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries and the possibility of a socialist victory in a few countries, initially, or even in a single separate country.

How are Lenin's conclusions reflected in the postcolonial world?

Under the conditions created by the change in the balance of forces in the international arena in favor of socialism, unlike in previous situations, contradictions among capitalist countries do not mandatorily develop into wars.

However, as in the past, the effect of the law of uneven development leads to the formation of different "power centers" within the capitalist world, rivalry and struggle among them being a feature of their daily practical relations. The centripetal trend, based on the internationalization of the production process and the policy of confrontation with world socialism, merely changes the form in which the contradictions among the capitalist countries are manifested. However, it cannot gain the upper hand over internal troubles, rivalry and struggle, or eliminate or reduce them to nonimperialist or, speaking more broadly, intercapitalist contradictions generally.

The dialectics of the interaction of uneven economic and political development began to appear in the 1960s and in particular in the 1970s, in the guise of the emergence of individual local "power centers" within the developing countries, as well as a kind of "subimperialist centers." Individual countries (as a rule in the group of countries relatively more developed than other liberated countries) found themselves in a particular position within the group of developing countries thanks to their exceptional economic or military-political importance, and occasionally for both reasons. On one hand, they themselves use or try to use this special position in relations with other developing countries, and on the other, it is exploited by the imperialist countries who are trying to convert such "subimperialists centers" into their strongholds.

The specific nature of the developing situation is such that the countries constituting local "power centers" remain in the meantime a part of the world of developing countries. They still have many features in common with the other liberated

countries. They include a relatively low level of development of production forces, a mixed economy, the asymmetric nature of interdependence with the centers of the capitalist world, the objective need to democratize the existing international economic order, and others. All of this gives the relations between such "power centers" and the developed capitalist states or the other liberated countries a complex and conflicting nature.

Relations between developed capitalist states and "subimperialist centers" are developing under conditions governed by inequality among the "partners" in terms of their development level and, a factor of exceptional importance, their ability to use the achievements of scientific and technical progress. Under such circumstances the individual developing countries, which become "power centers," cannot essentially utilize the economic or strategic "advantages" they possess. Such countries become ever more profoundly involved with the world capitalist economy. Meanwhile, the interest shown by the developed capitalist countries in stabilizing their relations with such "power centers" and in using them for the implementation of their objectives has the result in practical terms of drawing the rising "power centers" into the area of imperialist policy. However, the area in which their interests clash with those of the developed capitalist countries remains and, where a number of problems are concerned, may even broaden.

Arms purchases from the United States and other NATO countries have become one of the most important means of involving the local "power centers" in imperialist policy. The shah's Iran serves as an example. The United States relied heavily on it as a strong and firm ally.

Arms deliveries were a means of drawing Egypt into the orbit of imperialist policy as well.

The importance of "subimperialist centers" in the U.S. strategy developed in particular as a result of the evolution of American military-strategic concepts. Of late there has been reliance on the greater involvement of the United States in regional conflicts and the creation, with this in mind, of a "rapid deployment force." This was reflected in Presidential Directive No 18 of August 1977. The directive was by way of a prologue to the "Carter Doctrine," which proclaimed the U. S. intention to defend its "vital interests" in various areas distant from the United States by using military power if necessary (incidentally, these "vital interests" are arbitrarily determined by the United States itself). It was under these circumstances that the strengthening of the American military presence in the Near and Middle East, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf was initiated.

Clearly, a second updated edition of U. S. policy directed toward the establishment of systems of military bases in the close approaches to the USSR is developing. As we know, this line, when pursued by American policy in the 1950s and 1960s, met with firm opposition from the peoples inhabiting these areas, and in a number of cases Washington was forced to retreat. Today the United States is relying on local reactionary and conservative regimes to prevent an upsurge of anti-American feeling, using their "national" bases in its own interests without officially raising the American flag over them. Once again Sadat's Egypt can serve as an example of such "cooperation."

IV

The law of uneven development has had a direct impact on the nature of the revolutionary process in the developing world.

The collapse of the imperialist colonial system occurred under the pressure of the national-liberation struggle, under conditions governed by the drastic change in the ratio of world forces in favor of socialism. We know that some countries broke with their colonial past as a direct result of the winning of power by Marxist-Leninist parties and the beginning of a socialist revolution; others accomplished this through a national-democratic revolution which offered them the opportunity to adopt a socialist orientation; still others--the majority--began or continued their development along the capitalist path after breaking with colonialism.

The strengthening of the socioclass element has been the distinguishing feature of the revolutionary process in the zone of the national-liberation struggle in the postcolonial period. It has been manifested in:

The rise of a number of national-liberation international-democratic revolutions;

The greater consistency in the implementation of socioeconomic and political changes in socialist-oriented countries ruled by revolutionary-democratic vanguard parties (Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and others); the strengthened social differentiation and anti-imperialist element in politics, the increased class demands of the toiling masses in capitalist-oriented countries and the development of a revolutionary situation in several of them (Iran).

At the same time, an "ebb" has occurred in the liberation movement in some parts of the former colonial world, both in countries with a socialist orientation and in a number of liberated countries pursuing the path of capitalism, consisting of a shift of the political "axis" to the right.

Obviously, none of these features of the revolutionary process occurring in the liberated countries can be understood without a study of how the law of uneven development affects the process.

Let us begin with the methodological aspects of this problem:

1. V. I. Lenin clearly divided the totality of conditions out of which a revolution develops into three components: the material prerequisites for conversion to the new system; the objective sociopolitical conditions which form a revolutionary situation; and the subjective factor (awareness and organization of revolutionary forces and their vanguard, capable of storming the imperialist positions). Together they insure the development of a revolutionary situation into a revolution.

2. According to Lenin, each of these organically interlinked components is relatively autonomous.

3. Naturally, this formulation of the question in no way means neglect of the significance of the level of the country's economic development in terms of the very course of the building of socialism and, in the final account, its triumph. As a result of his study of monopoly capitalism, V. I. Lenin reached the conclusion that at the highest stage of capitalism, with the increased influence of the law of uneven development, the main feature of revolution is not the level of maturity of economic conditions but the combination and aggravation of accumulated class contradictions. Furthermore, he noted that the maximum accumulation and aggravation of contradictions occurred in a country which had reached an average level of capitalist development--Russia. V. I. Lenin considered an average rather than a low level to be more favorable in terms of the creation of a revolutionary situation.

4. V. I. Lenin never believed in the automatic growth of a revolutionary situation into a revolution. He recognized not only the possibility that a revolutionary situation might reverse itself, but the possibility of stagnation of the revolutionary process as well.

5. While believing that a revolution develops out of internal conditions, V. I. Lenin also emphasized the significance of external factors contributing to the ripening of such conditions.

These most valuable Leninist considerations are of continuing significance in the study of the characteristics of the revolutionary process in the liberated countries.

The unevenness of economic and social development continues to be reflected in the revolutionary process in Asia, Africa and Latin America on the "horizontal" and "vertical" levels. Revolutionary conditions ripen unevenly in the individual countries, for which reason their "readiness" for revolution differs. The "horizontal" impact of the law of uneven development is similar to that existing in the group of developed capitalist countries and applies to the entire capitalist world—to its center and its periphery.

Furthermore, the uneven feature of economic and social development continues to have a "vertical" impact on the revolutionary process in the liberated countries: as a rule, the various conditions leading to a revolution do not mature in them simultaneously. Moreover, such conditions are frequently characterized here by a considerable time "gap."

How has all this appeared and how does it continue to appear in the various groups of former colonial and semicolonial countries—socialist, socialist-oriented and capitalist?

Obviously, the multiplicity of types of revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America was itself related less to the basic differences in the nature of the problems to be resolved than to the uneven ripening of the different revolutionary conditions. In virtually all the former colonial and semicolonial countries, it was a question of the need to implement anti-imperialist liberation objectives, to gain or strengthen political independence and to achieve economic autonomy.

Within all three types of revolution, nationwide problems of a democratic nature were posed and resolved. Naturally, they were more of a national-democratic than a national-liberation nature. The socialist revolution, which developed on the basis of the national-liberation struggles, subsequently yielded priority to class problems. However, these problems either coincide with or in any case should not conflict with the general democratic interests, the national interests.

Better synchronization of the ripening of an objective revolutionary situation and a subjective factor could be noted on the eve of the revolutions in the Asian countries which subsequently took the path of socialism. In these countries the working class and the poorest peasantry were represented by the vanguard of the working class—a political party with a Marxist-Leninist ideology. In these countries as well, however, expanded socialist construction was not undertaken immediately after the victory of the revolution. For example, the Vietnamese comrades clearly divide the revolutionary process after the seizure of power into two stages: the first, in the course of which national-democratic problems were posed and resolved, and the second, the socialist. The ruling position of the communist party led to the fact, first of all, that these two stages were not separated by any time period; secondly, the transition from the first to the second was smooth, without any change in the system; thirdly, the national-liberation stage prepared for and facilitated the advent of the socialist stage which, in turn, developed the first stage.

Meanwhile, the very assumption of power by the communists in these countries was not a "violation of the rules." V. I. Lenin emphasized that the solution to the problems of a bourgeois-democratic revolution does not necessarily presume bourgeois rule. On the contrary, these problems are resolved far more completely and consistently when representatives of the working people are in power.

We know that the Asian countries in which Marxist-Leninist parties came to power were described as socialist even in their national-democratic stage. However, this was not because socialist changes were immediately carried out in full in these countries (such as, for example, Mongolia or Vietnam), but because they undertook the actual building of socialism along with the solution of the problems of the national-democratic revolutions.

The uneven ripening of the various revolutionary conditions in the Asian socialist countries was manifested mainly in the fact that here the material prerequisite for the new society had not been established to a sufficient extent during the colonial or semicolonial period. In the final account, the lag in the economic factor in the individual Asian countries affected the nature of the leading forces of the revolution, to a great extent predetermining their petit bourgeois coloring (China).

As to the countries in which revolutionary democrats came to power, no direct growth of a revolutionary situation into a socialist revolution occurred. The need for a "presocialist stage" appeared in the course of which the material prerequisites for socialism are created on the one hand, and on the other, a political-ideological revolution of revolutionary democrats and their closer approach to scientific socialism take place.

Naturally, the problem of insufficient availability of the material prerequisites for the direct building of socialism was also manifested to the fullest extent in countries with a socialist direction in which forces oriented toward scientific socialism came to power from the very beginning (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Afghanistan and others). The premature formulation of the problems of the socialist stage of the revolution in such countries frequently involves the danger that the forces in power may find themselves in serious conflict with a reality marked by an exceptionally weak differentiation between social and economic structures. The development of the contradiction which arises under these conditions, as historical events indicate, can create a serious danger. At the same time, however, in countries with a socialist orientation ruled by vanguard parties, the transition to a socialist stage of development is subsequently facilitated. This transition will occur without a "break" within the single revolutionary process.

The uneven ripening of the various components in the sum total of revolutionary conditions has its effect on the nature of the revolutionary process in all socialist oriented countries and the results, not only before but perhaps to an even greater extent, after the abolishment of imperialist domination. The fact that in the course of prerevolutionary development the corresponding material prerequisites for the new society have not been created triggers a major contradiction between the economic and the social aspects of the development in countries with a socialist orientation. It is manifested in the fact that a number of progressive social changes are hindered by the lack of a sufficient material base or are sometimes carried out despite the absence of such a base. This does great economic harm and could undermine the entire economy.

The slower development of the subjective factor, which rarely corresponds to the objectively ripe need for revolutionary changes, also has a negative and hindering influence on the development of the revolutionary process in some countries with a socialist orientation. In some of them this is manifested in the weakness of the ruling parties. Another influencing fact is that the molding of a scientific outlook within the revolutionary democratic movement actually begins, as a rule, only after it has come to power.

The most serious contradiction in some of these countries is caused by the fact that the measures implemented in the interests of the broad people's masses are either not at all or insufficiently paralleled by efforts to energize the toiling masses for the implementation and protection of the progressive socioeconomic changes proclaimed within the society.

A certain contradiction may also develop between economics and politics. We are familiar with V. I. Lenin's view as to the particularly active role which politics plays in the transitional period.* However, the core of Lenin's thought is that long-term positive results can be achieved only by pursuing a proper policy which takes economic loss into consideration. The influence of the political factor on the economy may vary: unquestionably, it produces positive results by stimulating

* See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 42, p 278.

the socialization of productive capital, the creation and development of the state sector and nationalization in the areas of industry, transportation and the credit-banking and trade systems; as the same time, however, it can produce negative results if economic laws and the country's economic requirements are ignored.

The blending of the petit bourgeois nature of the forces in power with the overall technical-economic backwardness of a given country frequently creates favorable conditions for the development of petit bourgeois revolutionism which, in the words of V. I. Lenin, "either resembles anarchism or borrows something from it."* The sad results of political adventurism appear even though the people who create them may have been guided by the proper objectives. It is self evident that such a formulation of the question in no way implies a rejection of the political risk which is inherent in all revolutions to one extent or another. It is a question not of excluding daring political decisions but of substantiating them, a question of the need to take a justified risk.

The insufficient maturity of the subjective factor (in terms of an objective revolutionary situation), i.e., of the forces which have assumed power, is also occasionally expressed in certain countries by a socialist orientation in confrontation with communists, even though the latter are the most consistent defenders of the interests of the working people.

However, historical experience proves that the uneven ripening of the different conditions for revolution does not "bottle up" the revolutionary process in the least or "block" its development. This applies above all to the socialist revolutions in Eastern countries in which the working class is the hegemonistic force. It is also characteristic of countries with a socialist orientation where gradually, not only from all the old "generations" of states to the new ones but within a single "generation," political and ideological evolution has taken place in the direction of scientific socialism within the forces in power in a number of cases.

In practice, the declaration that socialism is the general objective of the revolution frequently means that the creation of the necessary material prerequisites for the building of a society free from exploitation will be completed after the proimperialist forces are ousted from power. We know that neither does the revolutionary process in the developed capitalist countries have any "great wall of China" separating its various stages. However, because of the considerably less developed economic and social structure in the liberated countries, the combination of tasks of a different nature pertaining to the different stages of the revolutionary process is carried out on a broader scale and requires a longer period of time than in the developing capitalist countries.

V

The uneven ripening of the various conditions for revolution affects the course of the revolutionary process and the large segment of the former colonial and

* V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, P 14.

dependent world represented by countries following the capitalist path. The socio-political contradictions which create a revolutionary situation develop most rapidly in such countries.

The high level of tension and the broad range of these contradictions can be explained by a series of reasons, both domestic and foreign. In itself, the acquisition of political independence--the main achievement of the national-liberation struggle in the stage of breakdown of the colonial system--did not put an end to the one-sided dependence of these countries, block the channels through which they are exploited by monopoly capital, or eliminate the gravity of their conflicts with imperialism. Added to all this are the growing class contradictions created by the development of capitalism and the increased socioclass stratification in these countries. Furthermore, a set of contradictions caused by the existence of precapitalist structures within such countries and an underdeveloped bourgeois superstructure, which holds back the growth of capitalism, exist, are expanding, and require a solution.

At the same time, the role of external factors is intensifying. Involvement in the global capitalist economy which is more rapid than the development of internal processes within many of the liberated countries, leading to the establishment of a capitalist system, has been one of the manifestations of the effect of the law of uneven development. In particular this is expressed in the fact that here the separation of the "traditional" producer from productive capital outstrips his association with productive capital on a new capitalist basis. Both processes seem to be developing over the course of time. We must also take into consideration the fact that the broadening of a variety of economic relations between the capitalist center and its periphery, which consists of the nonsocialist liberated countries, occurs faster than the establishment and development of the respective socioeconomic structures within the liberated countries themselves.

This entire sum total of contradictions creates a strong potential for a revolutionary explosion. However, on the one hand, a revolutionary situation may develop without mature, or at any rate sufficiently mature, material prerequisites within the new society; on the other, it may develop without an adequate objective factor. Here the intensification of contradictions and the explosive charge of a revolutionary situation, manifested in a "crisis at the peak" and the extent of "oppression of the bottom levels," are far more significant than the maturity of revolutionary forces which would convert the "passive condition of oppression into an active condition of indignation and rebellion" and, should such forces come to power, these factors would be far more considerable than the existing possibilities of building a new society. As a rule, the working class in such countries is numerically small and splintered. It bears the burden of an entire set of specific national, ethnic, religious and economic characteristics in the country's development. At the same time, the proletariat is either small or totally unorganized. For a number of reasons, including its organic ties with the landowners and foreign capital, the bourgeoisie is unable to rally the people and lead them in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism and for true liberation and social progress. Meanwhile, the developing objective revolutionary situation mortally frightens the bourgeoisie, which frequently makes a deal with imperialism and its accomplices within the country, against the interests of its own people.

Under such historical circumstances, the members of the intermediary social strata, representing a broad range of moods and aspirations, frequently appear on the political proscenium.

A pattern developed in the 1970s, involving the accumulation and aggravation of contradictions which create the objective sociopolitical prerequisites for a revolutionary explosion. This was most notable at the two "poles" of groups of liberated countries which had chosen the capitalist path of development: the "upper pole," with countries representing the "subimperialist power centers" (the Shah's Iran), where new contradictions triggered by the involvement of such countries with imperialist policy were added to the "traditional" contradictions, and the "lower pole," where the initial stage of capitalist changes was confronted by the most formidable wall of old feudal social relations and an ossified semifeudal superstructure (prerevolutionary Ethiopia).

The "upper" or ruling social groups in the liberated countries with a capitalist orientation are heterogeneous. The so-called elite consists of representatives of different social strata--the bourgeoisie, the military and civilian bureaucracy, the landed estate owners and others. However, both the percentage and the nature of such constituent parts of the "elite" vary from one country to another. A number of countries freed from colonial or semicolonial dependence have established military rule which, as in the case with Pakistan, for example, represents an extremely reactionary and antidemocratic landlord-bourgeois dictatorship.

Let us also mention the existing and continuing evolution of the national bourgeoisie in the postwar period. With some justification we can say that the new forms of cooperation between the local upper and middle bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the foreign, in particular multinational, monopolies are leading to some changes in the bourgeoisie's political orientation. In many cases it is no longer interested in restricting foreign capital, but favors more advantageous forms of cooperation with it. Naturally, since some contradictions with foreign monopoly capital remain, this creates a trend in the local upper and in some cases middle bourgeoisie toward abandonment of the protection of national interests and undermines the chances of making use of it as an ally of the working people in the anti-imperialist front (as in Iran, for example). This also encourages many regimes in Asian and African countries to adopt a right-wing orientation. Unquestionably, the further involvement of the liberated countries with the global capitalist economy will be strengthened by the changes occurring in the political nature of the local upper, as well as a considerable segment of the middle, bourgeoisie.

In a large number of developing countries, the crisis at the "peak" reflects the advent of a situation in which the "elite" in power can no longer rule with the old methods, even taking the changes in it into consideration. The existing governmental institutions find it ever more difficult to maintain "law and order." Instead of helping the situation, repressive measures intensify the revolutionary feelings of the masses.

However, the crisis at the "peak" is itself insufficient to create a revolutionary situation. The impossibility of ruling as usual is combined with the unwillingness

of the "bottom levels" to live as in the past. This unwillingness gradually increases. The forms of accumulating discontent and the explosion triggered by the unwillingness to live as before have greatly influenced the nature of the "bottom levels" in the developing countries. This applies not only and perhaps not exclusively to the working class but to the tremendous mass of the preproletarian population, the semiproletarian elements in town and country, and the lower strata of the petite bourgeoisie.

In many developing countries the demarcation line between the proletariat and this mass has been washed away. In Egypt, for example, a large number of people are nominally considered landowners. However, the average area such owners possess is less than one feddan per person. The high cost of land notwithstanding, the size of such a lot is simply insufficient to feed even a small family. The owners of such lots spend a considerable share of their time either working as farmhands for others, leasing land under extortion conditions, or seeking work in the towns.

A similar situation prevails with the very small store "owners." Buying inexpensive consumer goods on credit, they become street vendors on the city streets or highways or in the countryside. An insurmountable gap separates the overwhelming majority of these peddlers even from the small owners of stands. They represent a steady reinforcement of the semiproletarian town and country strata. They are broad social groups with no steady fixed earnings, forced to hire out sporadically, mainly in the service industries.

The mixed nature of the economy in the developing countries leaves its mark as well. The "bottom levels" represent not only the capitalist strata but a whole range of different strata based on precapitalist production methods. The social composition of the "bottom level" is the reasons for the fact that as compared with economically developed capitalist countries, they become the targets here of nationalistic and religious influences, and occasionally skillfully organized agitation and propaganda conducted by right-wing reactionary forces. Their common awareness is molded by spontaneous opposition to existing reality. Occasionally this triggers ways and means of protest which do not fall within the traditional concepts of revolution. At the same time, the "crisis at the bottom level," in such situations, is often marked by counterrevolutionary outbursts.

However, all such phenomena complicating the revolutionary process in such countries are surmounted, in the final account, as a result of the class differentiation which develops within them and the strengthened positions of socialism throughout the world. Here again the prospects are determined by the ripe prerequisites for the victory of the new, the nonexploiting system.

Nevertheless, however profound the nature of the differentiation processes may become in the developing countries, common ground opposing this world to imperialism is to be found. Therefore, it is no accident that virtually all the liberated countries are members of the nonaligned movement, which is an important factor in international relations and world politics.

Naturally, many difficulties stand in the way of the social development of former colonial and dependent countries. Their development itself frequently occurs in

zigzag fashion and it sometimes involves detours. Imperialism, which tries to keep these countries in the exploited periphery of the global capitalist economy, exerts tremendous direct and indirect pressure on the liberated countries. In recent years the desire of the U. S. imperialist circles and their allies to counter-attack the revolutionary forces in the developing countries and to push them back from the positions they have won has become apparent. In the pursuit of their objectives, the imperialists are capitalizing on the ever greater interest in cooperating with them evidenced by the Chinese hegemonists.

However, the progress of history cannot be stopped. "...Today," L. I. Brezhnev said in his report to the joint ceremonial session of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, "we can confidently state that no forces on earth can sweep the results of the heroic liberation struggle of the multi-million-strong masses in the former imperialist colonies and semicolonies off the face of the earth. The cause of the liberation of the peoples is invincible and the future belongs to it. The torch lit by the October Revolution will not falter on this front of world history either."

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REGIONAL

LABOR FORCE IN BELORUSSIA IN 11TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belorussian 13 Feb 81 p 2

[Article by D. Skrypchanka, chief of the Planning-Economic Department of the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Labor: "Why a High Rate of Labor Turnover"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee draft agenda for the 26th CPSU Congress speaks of the necessity of "taking measures to achieve a balance of jobs, present and future, with labor resources." A shortage of manpower is a problem. In recent years everywhere one could see "Help Wanted.... Help Wanted.... Help Wanted...." According to the figures of the Public Job Placement and Information Office, at the present time there are more than 30,000 available jobs just in those cities where offices have been established.

The demographic forecast anticipates that the size of the population at an able-bodied age will decrease during the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan almost four-fold in comparison with the 10th Five-Year Plan, and to an even greater extent in the 12th. At the present time Belorussia already has the highest level of employment of the able-bodied segment of the population.

With this situation difficulties arise in proportional development of the economy, which has a negative effect on material incentive to improve labor performance. The incentive system is ceasing to perform its mobilizing role. And this is leading to undesirable results. The Central Committee Report to the 29th Congress of the Communist Party of Belorussia stated: "Almost 5 million man-days were lost in industry during the five-year period, and 1.7 million in construction. For this reason 450 million rubles worth of goods were never produced, and more than 90 million rubles worth of construction was not performed. Almost one out of every six persons employed in industry changes his place of employment every year." One of the reasons for this situation is that with a great number of jobs available, a certain percentage of workers are beginning to seek the greatest benefit for themselves: a job closer to their place of residence, a possibility of faster improvement of living conditions, etc.

It is natural that under these conditions those enterprises which have more funds available for bonuses are in a better position. In 1979, for example, bonuses from the wage and material incentive fund per person within the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Timber and Wood Processing Industry system comprised 343 rubles for the year, and 323 rubles for the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Light Industry, while the figure was only 212 rubles for local industry, and only 183 rubles in the fuel industry. The personnel problem is also more difficult in these branches of industry -- there is a high rate of labor turnover, and poor labor discipline.

Can the situation be altered? It can. The way to solve the problem is to achieve a substantial improvement in utilization of available labor reserves. In connection with this, we should like to present several ideas which apply to elimination of the so-called manpower shortage. This shortage can be eliminated to a significant degree by improving organization of labor, by rate fixing and job identification, by strengthening labor discipline, by reducing the rate of labor turnover, and by improving material incentive.

One of the internal reserve potentials for achieving an effective increase in manpower is retooling production and reducing manual labor. Up to the present time, as was emphasized at the 29th Congress of the Communist Party of Belorussia, more than 300,000 persons are engaged in manual labor in this republic's industry, or 35 percent of total workers, while the figure is almost half in the construction industry. Mechanization will boost labor productivity and make it possible to utilize a large number of persons for other jobs.

Improvement in the level of scientific organization of labor is an important means of achieving savings in labor expenditures. Implementation of measures pertaining to scientific organization of labor elaborated in the sectors of the national economy made it possible to obtain more than 170 billion rubles savings in the period 1976-1979. The relative number of jobs eliminated during this period was approximately 85,000.

At the same time it is high time for ministries, agencies and enterprises to specify in their plans for adoption of scientific organization of labor not only relative but also actual elimination of jobs. It is therefore advisable to add the following to Section XII of the Draft Principal Directions: "To increase the responsibility of ministries and agencies, associations, enterprises and their officials for elaboration and adoption of measures pertaining to scientific organization of labor which would mandatorily ensure an actual elimination of jobs."

The experience of the Shchekinskiy Chemical Combine is exceptionally valuable in this regard. In this republic's industry alone, according to preliminary figures, this know-how, as an aggregate or utilization of individual elements, is now being employed at 354 enterprises, at which 17,000 jobs have been eliminated since its adoption began. With the wage fund obtained due to these savings, additional payments have been established to basic wage rates and salaries for learning related job skills, expanding areas covered and increasing volume of work performed for more than 22,000 persons employed in industry. The gain from adopting the Shchekinskiy method was obtained both by enterprises and employees. And, what is very important, the majority of the freed workers were sent to those areas of production where there was a shortage of workers.

There is considerable potential for adoption of the Shchekinskiy method and for reducing the number of employees on the basis of this method at scientific research institutes, personal services organizations, and in trade. With a thoughtful approach to the matter, there is potential everywhere for adoption of this know-how.

We believe that the following provision should be added to the draft Principal Directions: "Elaborate and implement additional measures for adoption in all sectors of the national economy of a comprehensive method of improving organization

of labor, material incentive and planning according to the experience of the Shchekinskiy Chemical Combine, making it the principal form of organization of labor and wages."

Reducing the number of workers brings another no less important problem -- that of job placement for released workers. Responsibility for job placement of such individuals is presently borne by enterprise officials. As we know, however, these officials are not empowered to place workers at other enterprises in the city or rayon where jobs are available. This results in a paradox. On the one hand jobs can be eliminated, while on the other hand the freed workers cannot be placed in other jobs. It is unquestionably high time to release enterprise officials from performance of functions which are not in line with their job. The principal task of enterprise officials should consist in seeking reserve potential for labor productivity growth and for increasing manufacture of goods needed by the economy. The business of job placement of workers released by enterprises, their distribution and redistribution can be assumed by public job placement and information offices.

The experience of offices established in this republic indicates that time spent by offices in job placement averages 10 working days, while it takes approximately a month for a worker to find his own job.

Office of job placement activities are particularly brisk at the present time, in connection with further improvement in the economic mechanism of management, the necessity of finding labor productivity growth reserve potential and elimination of jobs on this basis. This is not reflected, however in the Principal Directions. In our opinion the following should be added to the CPSU Central Committee draft document: "Increase the role of municipal public job placement and information offices in matters pertaining to distribution and redistribution of manpower, seeking and drawing additional sources of labor resources into societal production."

Increasing production effectiveness is closely linked with the state of and sequential strengthening of labor discipline.

As a result of executed measures, work time losses caused by full-day and partial-shift work stoppages, absenteeism and failure to appear at work with the permission of management have been reduced for the first half of 1980, in comparison with the corresponding period in 1979, per worker, as follows: by 17.2 percent in this republic's industry, by 26.8 percent in construction, and by 13.4 percent in common carrier motor transport and communications organizations.

Nevertheless, as verifications indicate, there still occur significant concealed losses of working time, which are not reflected in statistical reports. Considerable losses are connected with holding during working hours various meetings, conferences, rallies, athletic competitions, and attendance of amateur talent shows.

There is also one additional important factor in resolving the labor shortage problem. The present situation is such that some enterprises are acutely short of workers, while others are maintaining an above-plan work force. In the period January-November 1980 above-plan work force in Belorussian industry totaled 3,800 persons. Redistribution of this excess will reduce to a significant degree the shortage of manpower. Such a solution to the problem would result immediately in labor productivity growth and increased production efficiency.

We believe that the CPSU Central Committee draft document for the 26th CPSU Congress should specify stricter measures of financial liability for enterprise managers who maintain an excessive work force. Presently specified measures which call for reducing by 50 percent the wage bonus for the year's performance are little effective.

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REGIONAL

ONE FARM'S PROBLEMS: MACHINERY SUPPLY, REPAIR; PROCUREMENT; KEEPING WORKERS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by V. Doroshko, director of the Sovkhoz imeni Kozlov, Kustanayskaya Oblast: "The Abundance of the Fields"]

[Excerpt] The grain farmers--virgin lands farmers took in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress with great satisfaction. I was especially touched by the words of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev about our Kazakhstan. He spoke about the fact that the Kazakh billion poods of grain, which together with the grain from the RSFSR and the Ukraine is the basis for the country's foodstuff's fund, is becoming a habit. We know that a large portion of this billion is contributed by virgin lands.

Such examples are characteristic of the entire virgin-lands area, and of course this is very satisfying. But at the same time we experience certain dissatisfaction when we consider that our land can produce more, that it is not living up to its potential by far. This was discussed at the 26th CPSU Congress. It was noted that one of the reasons that return in the steppe field is low is the shortage of soil-conservation technology. Like all steppe farmers, I am in total agreement with this.

Soon it will be time to sow in the virgin lands. In our region nature has allocated little time for sowing--it must be completed within 10 days. However, in order to sow seed on 100,000 hectares in such a time period, the sovkhos is lacking 200 SZS-2.1 stubble sowers. In addition, a good half of the existing sowers have completed their amortization schedule and should not be taken into the fields--no matter how they are regulated, a normal application of seed cannot be achieved. For this reason, during sowing operations we do not maintain the optimal schedule, we violate work quality and thus condemn ourselves to seed underproduction. A similar situation exists in other virgin-lands enterprises.

As far as I remember, SZS-2.1 sowers were put into production about 10 years ago. Since that time there were many resolutions and orders by ministries concerning the increase in production of counter-erosion units. But soil-conservation sowing machinery, without which agriculture in our zone would be unthinkable, has remained in short supply. We, the virgin lands farmers, feel that the workers of the ministry of agricultural machinery, in fulfilling the decisions of the 26th party congress, should increase the production of counter-erosion technology.

Another problem is also of concern. The agrotechnology that has been developed for steppe rayons foresees the sowing of seed to a depth of 8 and more centimeters. We can imagine how strong the grain must be to push through such a layer of soil. From this we have our seed requirements. Seed must at least meet the first class sowing standards. However, it is not easy to achieve this.

I have noted over and over again that when I send a sample for analysis from the bale, the seed is first class, but a secondary analysis of the same batch, that has been put into grain storage facilities, yields different results. This is because we use dump trucks to pour grain into primitive storage facilities. The loading equipment on the threshing floors is weak and there are no line conveyors. As a result, the seed material is traumatized during each move. In addition, because of the shortage of storage space the seed is stored in a layer that exceeds the norm by 1.5-2 times.

I feel that the answer lies in a unification of the efforts of grain farmers and procurers. Only 50 meters from our threshing floor is a grain reception point for 50,000 tons. Its capacity is still insufficient--in the last 2 years our sovkhos alone has sold the state 170,000 tons of grain, and another two enterprises deliver their grain to this facility as well. For this reason we must ship our wheat a distance of 150-200 kilometers. It is clear that this increases our expenditures, diverts transportation, prolongs harvesting and results in harvest losses. We must expand the reception point and introduce new capacities. This is not the only problem.

It has been our practice to move the grain from the combine to the threshing floor. Here we dry and clean it and then move it to the reception point. It would be much simpler to take the wheat there directly from the field, since the grain-cleaning technology there has a much larger capacity than ours. However, the established order of mutual accounts is in the way. When the wheat arrives directly from the combine, the procurers take payments for the treatment and also cancel the supplement for grain strength. To eliminate this supplement in our sovkhos, which like all other enterprises in the virgin lands sows strong wheat varieties, would mean the loss of millions of rubles.

I am convinced that the order of mutual accounts must be revised. The sovkhos should pay for the treatment, but the supplements for grain strength should be retained by the enterprise; after all, this strength was achieved in the fields through the labor of grain farmers. In such a case the sovkhos will be interested in taking the grain to the reception point on its territory directly. This would sharply decrease expenditures, eliminate excess trans-shipments that divert people and transportation, enable us to accelerate harvesting and to decrease grain losses in the field greatly. At the same time it would be possible to get the wheat under a roof more quickly. The grain-reception point would provide us with dried wastes, a significant portion of which is now lost.

In general, through our common efforts we could save twice as much grain and also prepare the seed better.

The common interests of grain farmers and procurers are needed in evaluating the quality of production as well. It is a fact that during grain reception there are frequent conflicts. Last year we sent one bundle's seed to three reception points and received different supplements for its strength. If the totals were calculated

on the basis of kopecks instead of tens and hundreds of thousands of rubles, there would be no problem. It is essential to improve the interrelations between grain farmers and the workers of procurement enterprises. The 26th party congress set an important goal--to bring agriculture and the branches involved in storing and processing its products closer together. This need arises from life itself, from production requirements, and it is important to accelerate the solution to this problem.

There are many opportunities for the growth of effectiveness in the better utilization of equipment. The load per unit in the virgin lands is still very large and naturally the machines here must operate dependably without idleness. A great deal depends on the training of the machine operator. In recent years this has increased noticeably. At the present time a large detachment of masters of the grain fields is working in the sovkhos. Vladimir Kozlachkov, Nikolay Gorbachev, Reyngol'd Moor, Petr Ketta and Anatoliy Matrosov, for example, annually work over 4,000 standard hectares each; they mow and thresh grain a hundreds of hectares.

At the same time, results to a large degree depend on how effectively the operational capability of the machine fleet is maintained. Unfortunately, all is not well in this area. Let us take repair, for example. Any director will try to assign the most experienced machine operators to this job, but these workers are not eager to go into the shop. Why? An example will clarify this. An excellent machine operator, I. Safronov, was assigned to repair motors and transmissions. In 6 months--from October to April--he earned 1,116 rubles. In the brigade his wages for this period would have equalled 1,260 rubles. The difference does not seem to be a large one. But at the end of the year the brigade in which I. Safronov works received 2.02 rubles in supplements and bonuses for each ruble earned in the field. Thus, the addition to the wages would have comprised 2,545 rubles. But we, by assigning Ivan Yefimovich the job of metal worker, were penalizing him by this sum.

It is clear that highly trained workers strive to avoid such "punishment." Additional difficulties arise for the enterprise. The threshing yield depends no less on metal workers, turners and welders than it does on machine operators. I feel that if the representatives of a particular profession affect the final harvest results, they should be allotted the same prestige and high payments. The specialists of sovkhoses and kolkhoses and the workers of the respective departments should always be aware of the problems of improving wages.

Another problem related to repairs has been the source of a great deal of concern. The sovkhos has about 2,000 various machines. The fleet is expanding quickly. It is becoming more and more difficult to maintain the readiness of technology. I cannot say that we have a weak repair base. We have a model shop for 40 places and here we work on almost all equipment that needs repairs. However, it is not easy to do this because there is a shortage of equipment. For example, there is only one turner's bench and one drilling machine.

Another problem is the poor supply of spare parts. If the spare parts did not exist that would be another problem, but they do and they are found in specialized enterprises of the State Committee of the Agricultural Equipment Association. But because of some cogwheels, gaskets or cylinders we ship motors or K-700 transmission boxes over 400 kilometers. Moreover, for the repair of each motor and box we pay

over 1,500 rubles and about 640 rubles respectively. In one's own shop repairs are 2-3 times cheaper. The losses we carry can be seen from the following data. In the course of the year we were charged 72,000 rubles for the repair of 28 boxes and 36 motors. In our own shop repairs would have cost 46,000 rubles less. If we add the motors and transmissions for combines the overexpenditure comprises 80,800 rubles. This does not include losses due to the idleness of tractors. I am convinced that under our conditions it is more expedient to ship spare parts to machines and not machines to spare parts.

This question is not only one of production; it is social in nature too. We are trying to provide year-round activities for people in order to have them settle in the sovkhos. We have developed a subsidiary enterprise--a brick plant, a greenhouse. We are constantly improving cultural and everyday living conditions. We are building living quarters--up to 40 buildings with private plots and neighborhood facilities.

According to the general plan of sovkhos development the settlement's population must double soon. This means there will be more empty hands during the winter, and they must also be occupied. Where? Undoubtedly some of the machine operators will do winter work such as snow retention; others--in livestock farming. The remainder will go into technological repair. As we can see, we cannot do without a strengthening of the repair base with equipment and an improvement in the supply of spare parts. I feel that the time has come to deal with the question of constructing a mixed-fodder plant or shop at the grain-reception point. There is a double advantage to this--we will begin to utilize grain for feed more efficiently and we will provide jobs for people.

The virgin lands have moved far from the times when the steppe fields yielded their first bread. Naturally, the new production level brings forth new problems. They should be solved complexly, as has been done on all stages of development of virgin-lands enterprises. As indicated by the 26th party congress, we must reach our decisions energetically and on the basis of a firm foundation, securing great final results. This is the key to success. This is the key to making the steppe lands more abundant and the steppe grain more weighty.

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